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[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

The Slave Trade in Portuguese West Africa.

MR. H. W. NEVINSON'S concluding articles on "The Slave Trade of To-day" in the January and February numbers of *Harper's Monthly Magazine* ought to be read and pondered by those who think that the trade in human beings was ended long ago, and that people who talk of opposing slavery to-day are well-meaning fanatics who speak the language of hyperbole.

The articles are concerned solely with the "contracted labour" which is employed on the plantations of San Thomé and Príncipe, the two Portuguese islands, lying off the West Coast of Africa close to the Equator, which are almost entirely given up to the cultivation of cocoa, an industry which is growingly prosperous and lucrative. Mr. Nevinson's previous articles have dealt with the methods by which the labourers are procured from the interior of Africa, and the enormities which go on to-day in connection with this slave-trade, as they have always done where men and women are taken from their homes and sold as chattels or "animated implements" to work for the white man. In these concluding chapters are depicted the experiences of the labourers after they are shipped from the coast of Angola to the islands, and their treatment on the plantations, as Mr. Nevinson himself saw them last year.

This contract labour is legalised and is not officially called slavery. On the contrary its conditions have been sometimes described as unexceptionable. Said a fellow-visitor to Mr. Nevinson, on one of the model plantations, after they had partaken of an exquisite Parisian déjeuner—

"The Portuguese are certainly doing a marvellous work for Angola and these islands. Call it slavery if you like. Names and systems don't matter. The sum of human happiness is being infinitely increased."

It is true that the demand for labour is so great, the cost of the services so high, and the death rate so heavy, that a good planter does all he can to keep his stock of slaves alive. Violent acts of cruelty are probably uncom-

mon. "When a stranger is coming, the word goes round that everything must be made to look as smooth and pleasant as possible." The labourers receive wages, the average amount actually received being rather less than 5/- a month, and the money can only be spent on the plantation store. But under this fair exterior is concealed a slave system of an iniquitous kind, and Mr. Nevinson repeats his belief that the whole question of slavery is still before us and will have to be faced anew.

"Legal terms," as he reminds us, "make no difference to the truth of things. Slavery is not a matter of discomfort or ill-treatment, but of loss of liberty."

This is a simple fact too often forgotten. We have already seen that when the slaves are brought from the interior to the coast they are said to be "redeemed" by Government officials, before they are exported to the islands as contract labourers. Mr. Nevinson witnessed the ceremony when the gangs of men and women are ranged before the Curador at Benguela and are formally asked whether they go willingly as labourers to San Thomé. No answer is expected, or, if given, attended to, nor would the slightest notice be taken of a refusal. The contract for five years' labour is then drawn out, and each slave receives a tin disc and a tin cylinder containing his papers, after which he is marched out again and in due course shipped to the islands. Thus the requirements of law are supposed to be satisfied, and by this excuse Portugal "smooths her conscience and whitens over one of the blackest crimes which even Africa can show."

A similar farce is enacted when, at the end of their five years' term, the contract is renewed for another five years. According to the law, the slaves are then to be asked if they agree to renew the contract, and, if so, their wages must be raised 10 per cent. As a fact, no slave is ever asked his opinion in the matter; "his wishes are no more consulted than a blind horse's in a coal-pit."

Mr. Nevinson travelled from Benguela to San Thomé in a ship containing 272 contract labourers, whose appearance and demeanour are graphically described:—

"Bemused with a parting dole of rum, bedecked in brilliantly striped jerseys, grotesque caps, and flashy loin-cloths to give them a moment's pleasure, the unhappy throng were escorted to their doom, the tin tickets with their numbers and the tin cylinders with their form of contract glittering round their necks or at their sides."

The slaves lie about the lower deck, silent, bewildered and apathetic. Here is a vivid word-picture of a scene witnessed when some more slaves were taken on board off Novo Redondo:—

"The slaves came off in two batches . . . There was a bit of a sea on that day, and the tossing of the lighter had made most of the slaves very sick.

Things became worse when the lighter lay rising and falling with the waves at the foot of the gangway, and the slaves had to be dragged up to the platform one by one like sacks, and set to climb the ladder as best they could. I remember especially one poor woman who held in her arms a baby only two or three days old. Quickly as native women recover from childbirth, she had hardly recovered, and was very seasick besides. In trying to reach the platform, she kept on missing the rise of the wave, and was flung violently back again into the lighter. At last the men managed to haul her up and set her on the foot of the ladder, striking her sharply to make her mount. Tightening the cloth that held the baby to her back, and gathering up her dripping blanket over one arm, she began the ascent on all fours. Almost at once her knees caught in the blanket and she fell flat against the sloping stairs. In that position she wriggled up them like a snake, clutching at each stair with her arms above her head. At last she reached the top, bruised and bleeding, soaked with water, her blanket lost, most of her gaudy clothing torn off or hanging in strips. On her back the little baby, still crumpled and almost pink, squeaked feebly like a blind kitten. But swinging it round to her breast, the woman walked modestly and without complaint to her place in the row with the others.

I have heard many terrible sounds, but never anything so hellish as the outburst of laughter with which the ladies and gentlemen of the first-class watched that slave woman's struggle up to the deck."

Another day one of the men jumped overboard and tried to escape. The poor wretch was soon overtaken and brought back, when he was chained up to a post in the hold amid shouts of "Flog him! A good flogging!" from the passengers.

As the slaves were ranged up on deck preparatory to landing at the island, Mr. Nevinson spoke to two young girls and asked them a few questions which ran as follows:—

"Why are you here?" "We were sold to the white men."

"Did you come of your own free will?" "Of course not."

"Where did you come from?" "From Bihé."

"Are you slaves or not?" "Of course we are slaves."

One of the terrible features about this contracted labour is the high rate of mortality in the islands, to which attention was drawn in the British consular report in 1902. In Principe the death-rate for one year was 20.67 per cent., and on one of the best managed plantations in San Thomé a death-rate among children of 25 per cent. per annum is admitted.

By way of comparison Mr. Nevinson mentions the death-rate of Liverpool (the highest rate of English cities) which reaches 20.5 per 1,000 or one-tenth of the rate among the servicaes in Principe.

The chief cause of death is anæmia, brought on, as an official doctor admitted to Mr. Nevinson, by *unhappiness*.

Some of the labourers manage to escape, and live a wild life in the mountain-fastnesses, but they do not exceed from 600 to 1,000 owing to the

deadly climate and the hardships. The authorities institute man-hunts at intervals to re-capture or kill these fugitives, when they form a cordon and sweep over parts of the island, but they have never yet succeeded in capturing them all. Escape by sea has been proved to be impossible, and those slaves who try it meet with terrible punishment from the authorities.

The whole system pursued in regard to native labour in these islands is a grim illustration of how easily we are deceived by names and legal terms. It cannot be slavery, some would say, because the people, according to the law, receive wages, and give their consent to the contract into which they enter. Mr. Nevinson shows how utterly empty and valueless these conditions are in practice. The only safeguard is that the slave costs money, and it will not pay the planter to carry brutal treatment beyond a certain point. Flogging, however, is common, and so are certain forms of vice.

Portugal has by several treaties and agreements bound herself to put down the slave trade and to free her slaves. A list of them, with their dates, is given in this article. The latest of these was the Brussels Act, to which Portugal was a signatory Power.

How long is this shameless farce to continue, of a country making professions on the one hand of forbidding and suppressing slave trading and slavery, while on the other she encourages and makes large profits out of this hateful contract-labour system? No more deadly theme for satire, Mr. Nevinson truly says, could be found.

Is there no Power that will say "These things must no longer be"?



The Congo State.

THE reports received from the Upper Congo show that no improvement has taken place in the administration of the system and treatment of the natives since the visit of the Commission of Inquiry, but that, on the contrary, outrages and murders continue unabated. Special difficulties have arisen in regard to the supply of food to the mission stations, the officials actually punishing the natives, and instructing the native soldiers to shoot them down, for selling food to the missionaries. These, with other scandals, have been brought before our Government by the Congo Reform Association, and there is every reason to hope that the present Government will not be slack in taking up the work, which the late Government began, of pressing home the facts upon the Governments of the other Powers, and insisting on measures being taken to put an end to the horrors of the system.

The Congo Reform Association publishes letters from the Rev. E. Stannard, of the Congo Balolo Mission, and extracts from a diary of his

travels in the Abir territory in August last. He draws a shocking picture of the abominations committed upon the people by the sentries stationed in the town to force rubber from the inhabitants, the stories recounted to him by sufferers and their relatives of tortures, floggings and murders, being horrible in their monotony. The people greeted the English missionary with pleasure, telling him of their wrongs and earnestly entreating his help. Here is one example, out of many, of tortures inflicted upon two natives—one of whom died in the process—for having endeavoured to place an account of the sufferings of their countrymen before a Judicial Officer of the Government. They were tied to trees, by the orders of the white agent, their feet being off the ground, and allowed so to remain for "several days and nights" without food or water, and beaten with "big hard sticks" by the white agent and his soldiers.

The causes which led the men to wish to complain to the Judge were thus narrated by the survivor:—

"We were all being killed and ill-treated, and everything we had was being taken from us, our wives were outraged and stolen from us. We did not know what to do. We were getting all the rubber and ivory we could, but they said it was not enough and we were being killed off."

While at Mangi, Mr. Stannard heard that State Officers and troops were raiding and plundering the people of Bolima and Ekorongo. He struck off in their direction and followed in the tracks of the raiders, led by the Chief of Government Police, M. Otteley, under the guidance of an Abir sentry, a notorious and convicted murderer. He describes the appearance of these towns, the women and children hiding in the bush for safety, and the demands made by M. Otteley for increased quantities of india-rubber.

In a letter to the Governor-General, Mr. Stannard describes in greater detail the proceedings of M. Otteley and his soldiers in these and other towns. Around him, he wrote, was a scene of desolation and destruction.

M. Otteley: "You must bring 100 baskets of rubber every fortnight."

Longoi (Chief of Lotoko): "We cannot; the rubber is finished."

M. Otteley: "If you have not got the rubber when I come back I will not let one remain."

Longoi: "Very well, if you will come and kill us, you must. The rubber is not in the forest and we cannot bring it."

M. Otteley then struck the Chief two severe blows in the face, and said: "You say you will not bring rubber to me and you take meat to the English." (He then struck Longoi again twice violently in the face). "You take meat to the English because they ask you. What do you think I am? Am I a fool?"

Mr. Stannard points out repeatedly that the forests are now virtually denuded of rubber, and that the natives do not know where to turn to get it. He says in his letter to the Governor-General:—

"Additional State Officers have come into the district, but instead of protecting the people and administering justice, they are perpetrating the very abuses which we supposed they had come to render impossible. . . . How to describe the administration of justice here I do not know. Criminals are allowed to remain at large whilst innocent people are arrested and deported. A murderer, provided he has murdered for rubber, is practically safe."

In a letter to the British Consul at Boma, Mr. Stannard says that the present outlook is even worse than before, and the hopes raised by the Commission and the revelations made to it of the working of the rubber system have been falsified.

"The Abir, whose atrocities and enormities were proved beyond question, is in a stronger position to-day than ever, as it is being actively assisted and supported in every way by State Officers and troops. . . . State law is treated as though it did not exist."

The sending out of the Commission was, Mr. Stannard is being forced to believe, "a great act of deception," the Commissioners having no power to remedy the abuses which they saw. The "reforms" promised are "of the Rehoboam type," for if the Abir chastised the people with whips, the State seems determined to chastise them with scorpions.

M. Otteley was only acting on the instructions of his superior officer, Commandant Hagstrom, the Senior Executive Official of the district, against whom the recent Commission received the gravest charges in the depositions of many witnesses.

"The State," writes Mr. Stannard, "doesn't want men, it only wishes to have slaves."

The Congo Reform Association has urged upon the Government the need for the publication of the evidence given before the Commission, which was entirely omitted from the published Report, in direct violation of pledges given by the Congo Government to ours, and the present Foreign Secretary, Sir E. Grey, has intimated that communication will be made with the Congo Government on the subject.

Speaking at Liverpool at the end of November, the late Foreign Secretary referred to a great meeting of protest which had just been held there, and warned his hearers in significant language against "enterprises of which we have lately had painful and humiliating experience, which depend for their success upon the ruthless exploitation of the native population."

As a consequence of the Report of the Commission, opposition to the Congo régime has been stimulated in Belgium, an important meeting having been held in Brussels, when several members of Parliament spoke, and unanimous resolutions were passed protesting against the forced labour and other abuses disclosed, and demanding the separation of Belgium from the Congo State. A former Congo State judicial official, M. Jenniges, speaking

at Verviers, declared that the Congo Judiciary cannot suppress abuses, for it depends wholly on the Administrative authorities, who can render all their investigations nugatory. M. Jenniges also pointed out that the Commission having visited only an infinitesimal portion of the country, and seen only such documents and correspondence as the officials chose to show them, their Report "is obviously and notoriously insufficient."

Public meetings of protest have been held in London, Liverpool, and elsewhere, the Liverpool meeting, on January 4th, which was summoned by the Lord Mayor on the requisition of a number of prominent citizens, being especially enthusiastic and noteworthy. The resolution passed at this meeting was forwarded to the Prime Minister by the Association, with an urgent appeal "that the resources of British diplomacy should be used to the uttermost with the Continental Powers, co-signatories to the Act of the Berlin Conference, and especially with the President and Government of the United States of America, to ensure a complete reversal of the present system of rule in the Congo State."



Chinese Labour on the Rand.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

ALTHOUGH the change of Government, and the consequent change in the Chinese Labour policy, have created a very different situation in regard to this question, there is much in the Blue Book published early in December, (Cd. 2786), which throws further light on the subject.

Recent difficulties in the management of the Chinese coolies on the mines, made it necessary to pass an Ordinance amending the Labour Importation Ordinance of 1904, and the text of this Ordinance, which was signed on September 18 last, is given in the Blue Book, as well as a report of the debates in the Legislative Assembly on the third reading of the bill and in Committee.

It will be remembered that Sir Arthur Lawley, in his speech to a deputation of Boer delegates, admitted that the coolies had had grievances and good cause for grievances; he therefore arranged for an enlarged number of inspectors to visit the mines at frequent intervals and hear complaints. By the amending Ordinance, jurisdiction has been conferred on the superintendent and inspectors to try certain offences, which would have been summarily triable by resident magistrates, on the mines where the offence was committed, and to convict and sentence offenders accordingly. By Section 6, power is given to the superintendent to impose a collective fine on a gang of labourers when an offence has been concealed by concerted arrangement among them,

responsibility being thrown on the head boy of the gang to report offences committed or incur a fine of £5. The amount of the collective fines imposed are to be deducted by employers from the labourers' wages. Heavy sentences passed by the superintendent and inspectors are made subject to revision by the Supreme Court, and no flogging can be inflicted by them without the confirmation of a Supreme Court Judge. Other sections of the new Ordinance gave further powers of repatriating unfit coolies to the superintendent with the consent of the importer or the Lieutenant-Governor, prohibited the sale and exchange of opium, and empowered any private white person to arrest, without warrant, Chinese labourers found outside the Witwatersrand District.

The entrusting of these additional summary powers to the officials seems to us dangerous; the atmosphere of the mining compound is hardly likely to conduce to impartial justice. Labourers may be confined in the lock-up on the premises by the mine manager pending the trial, and Lord Selborne expresses his strong desire that the authority of the mine managers should be supported.

The power to impose collective fines is one which, as Mr. Lyttelton informed the Governor, should be used with great caution, and the permission granted to any white person to arrest deserters and claim out-of-pocket expenses has an unpleasant savour of slavery about it.

The despatch of Lord Selborne, dated September 18th, is an important one. He wrote after making it his business to become personally acquainted with the compounds, and the conditions under which the indentured Chinese coolies live and work. The great majority of the coolies are, he declared, good and orderly workmen, and though there is an admixture of bad characters, who ought not to have been recruited, he considered the proportion of crime to be small. Difficulties have arisen largely from the failure to understand the Chinese language; "the whole question is one of management," and with improved management difficulties may be expected to disappear. A certain amount of desertion was, in the Governor's opinion, inevitable, but most of the deserters are really only stragglers. Lord Selborne pronounced the treatment and housing of the Chinese labourers to be satisfactory, and the new compounds built for the coolies are very superior to those which used to be provided for the natives, while the health of the former is much better than that of the natives. The native death-rate appears from the statistics to have risen last year from just over 40 per 1,000 per annum to 45.79.

Lord Selborne, however, admitted that among the Chinese—

"there is a proportion of thorough scoundrels, including some ex-Boxers. There are also ruined gamblers, gamblers who were ruined before they came out here, and who came principally to escape their creditors, and worse still is the man who has gambled away all his wages in advance in the mine compound. He

has no further inducement to work, everything he earns goes to those to whom he has lost money, he deserts in desperation, and such a character was undoubtedly one of the criminals in a recent outrage. Then, again, there are the men who are discontented, and there are the roving spirits, such as would be found in any similar community of men."

Another important admission in this despatch relates to the coolie's understanding of the contract of service to which he binds himself. Lord Selborne tells us that Government officials in China "see that the Chinese coolie is made thoroughly aware of the service for which, and the conditions under which he is contracting," but later on in the letter the following paragraph occurs:—

"The question must, however be asked—What is the opinion of the Chinese themselves on the subject of the conditions under which they work and live? Were the terms of their contract faithfully explained to the Chinese? Did they know what they were engaging to undertake? I am sure the answer to these questions is "Yes." The terms of employment were faithfully and carefully explained to the Chinese, and they did know what they were contracting to perform. The further question must, however, be asked—Did the Chinese all understand what mining work entailed? And the answer to that, I am equally clear, is "No."

Lord Selborne goes on to explain that it is impossible to explain the conditions of work in a mine to "an ignorant and illiterate listener," which is exactly what has been stated by the Rev. Arnold Foster and other witnesses, and constitutes a most serious objection to the whole system. It is not clear how the Chinese coolie can be said to "know what he is engaging to undertake" if it is true that he did not understand what work in a mine entailed. No wonder disappointment follows when the labourer finds himself bound for three years to labour of which he did not understand the nature.

On the question of flogging we find little in these papers except a general denial of the practices alleged from two gold mines, and in Mr. Lyttelton's telegraphic reply to the Governor's despatch from which we have just quoted, he adverts somewhat strongly to an arrangement made for "slight corporal punishment" by the late Superintendent of Foreign Labour on his own responsibility, of which the Secretary of State had no knowledge until the end of August.

Mr. Evans had informed the mine managers that "in cases of breaches of discipline and trivial offences, for which it was not considered necessary to prosecute, he would not interfere if slight corporal punishment, limited in degree to punishment of such a nature as is permitted in schools in England, was administered after due inquiry, at which the offender should be present before the Chinese-speaking compound manager."

This permission was abused, and the practice was consequently entirely stopped.

"But I profoundly regret," Mr. Lyttelton wrote, "that corporal punishment, however slight, was authorised without the safeguards of the law, and that the matter was not brought to my notice as Secretary of State before it was authorised.

"Mr. Evans appears to have held that it was possible to draw a distinction between slight corporal punishment for disciplinary purposes and flogging, for which the Government was bound to prosecute if brought to its notice. Such a distinction cannot be maintained."

The returns of crime amongst the coolies for the five months included in this Blue Book show a marked increase. The convictions were for riot, assault, theft, desertion, forgery, refusal to work, and absence without permit.

Total No. of Convictions in May	...	185
" " "	June	317
" " "	July	671
" " "	Aug.	977
" " "	Sept.	883

For these offences the penalties inflicted were fines, or terms of imprisonment varying from one day to three months, with (in some cases) lashes.

Very special interest attached to the White Paper (Cd. 2788), published early in the year, after the Premier's announcement on December 21st as to the stopping of the importation of Chinese labourers as far as practicable. The telegram embodying the Government's decision was sent by Lord Elgin to Lord Selborne on the same date, and began as follows:—

"From the beginning the importation of Chinese labour was regarded as an experiment, and was accepted by His Majesty's late Government as necessary to meet a serious shortage of labour. Chinese labour was permitted as a supplement to, not as a substitute for, Kaffir labour, and it was necessary for His Majesty's Government to be assured that the numbers introduced were within the powers of supervision and control of the Transvaal Government. Mr. Lyttelton on more than one occasion desired to be specifically assured on this point. The report of Mr. Evans, the late Superintendent of Foreign Labour, dated in February, and published to Parliament, stated that about 55,000 would apparently complete the requirements of the mines which have decided to work with Chinese labour, and that this number would arrive by the end of July or August. After that an occasional ship would suffice, unless circumstances altered, or the unforeseen occurred.

The despatch then referred to the amending Ordinance, the uneasiness caused by Chinese acts of lawlessness, and the Boer deputation to Sir A. Lawley, and continued:—

"I understand that you are fully satisfied that there is no reason to apprehend any serious trouble in the future arising from desertions and lawless acts.

"But it is clear that there are indications of local opposition to the importation.

"The real wishes of the majority of the inhabitants of the Transvaal in regard to the importation, or as to any limitations or restrictions by which it should be confined, have not yet been authoritatively expressed, and cannot be ascertained until an elective Legislature has been called together.

"Native labour has largely increased since January, 1904, when it was represented to His Majesty's late Government that a grave financial crisis would ensue unless immediate relief was afforded by Chinese labour. The numbers then were 75,000, and are now 90,000, practically on a level with the numbers in 1899, at the time of maximum gold production before the war took place. In addition, there are now on the Rand over 47,000 Chinese."

"While reserving their opinion and freedom of action in the whole matter, His Majesty's Government consider, as I telegraphed to you yesterday, that the experiment of the introduction of Chinese labourers should not be extended further until they can learn the opinion of the Colony, through an elected and really representative Legislature, and they have accordingly decided that recruiting, embarkation, and importation of Chinese coolies shall be arrested, pending a decision as to the grant of responsible Government to the Colony. They are not prepared in all the circumstances to be responsible for further importation.

"His Majesty's Government trust that the inhabitants of the Transvaal will recognise that they have felt it their duty to take this step deliberately, and after a careful review of the situation."

The first despatch in this paper refers to a telegram sent by Mr. Lyttelton, on October 27th, "in which it was suggested that it would be good policy for the mine owners voluntarily to stop importation for the next six months," which is specially important in view of what followed. On December 20th, Lord Selborne telegraphed that 47,241 Chinese were then on the Rand, and 14,700 had been asked for, and for these licenses had been granted. Lord Selborne went on—

"My impression is mine owners would be most unwilling to stop importation, as they have recently gone to enormous expense in development work, the whole of which will be thrown away if they do not get labour supply sufficient to make production keep pace with development."

The same day Lord Elgin telegraphed back that the Government desired to take every available step to prevent shipment of the 14,700, and asked for the opinion of the Law Officers. The Attorney-General, however, held that the licenses already granted could not be revoked except on a breach of the regulations, and that the recruitment and embarkation of labourers thus authorised by the Lieutenant-Governor, could not be stopped by arbitrary act; the Governor also wrote of "a very strong outburst of feeling" as probable if this were attempted. Under these circumstances the Government came to the decision set forth in the telegram of January 5th :—

"His Majesty's Government have carefully considered the action to be taken with regard to the licenses for importation granted under the Labour Importation Ordinance, after the end of October for coolies who have not yet arrived. His Majesty's Government regret that the numbers which it was stated by the late Superintendent of Foreign Labour would apparently complete the requirements of the mines, in his report to which I referred in my telegram of December 21st, were exceeded without obtaining the assent of my predecessor, but, looking to the opinion of the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, the substance of which is concurred in by the legal advisers of the Crown, they regard it as impossible to treat licenses granted as otherwise than valid. Such licenses could therefore only be revoked by *ex post facto* legislation, which would be arbitrary in its character.

"In these circumstances, His Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that the licenses in question must be allowed to stand, the responsibility for their being granted being one which must entirely rest with their predecessors, and in which they themselves disclaim any share."

The points most worthy of notice in this correspondence are that at the end of October, the late Colonial Secretary suggested (in an unpublished telegram) that the mine owners should voluntarily stop the importation of Chinese for six months. Far from adopting the suggestion, the figures sent by Lord Selborne show that in November licenses were asked for 13,199 coolies, as against an average of about 2,000 in previous months—a fact which, as has been said, demands further investigation. This enormous increase, compared with previous months, is not sufficiently explained by Lord Selborne's remark that the large number issued in November "was due to great demand for labour consequent on continuous expansion of work in the mines." The license was actually signed by the Acting Lieutenant-Governor on the morning of the day on which Lord Elgin's telegram arresting further recruitment was received.

Significant also of the power of the mine owners is the statement made by the Governor as to the Labour Importation Agency which, as he said, manages the whole business of recruitment and embarkation of coolies in China on behalf of the Chamber of Mines. The Agency, he wrote, makes arrangements many months in advance, shipping arrangements are elaborate, and already further ships are chartered from the middle of 1907, when the first coolies' indentures will expire.

"All arrangements have been made with a view to continuous flow of immigration from China being established on permanent basis. In addition to enormous sums expended on individual mines on importation past, present, and prospective, Labour Agency has spent quarter of a million, little of which is recoverable. In addition, mining houses have embarked on extensive programme of development of non-producing or undeveloped properties, only justified on the assumption that sufficient labour supply was assured. An estimate is being made by the mining houses to whom licenses have been issued as to the cost of

machinery, plant, building, etc., ordered or erected in anticipation of arrival in due course of 12,750 coolies, and the further number expected to arrive here during 1906, which estimate will certainly amount to several millions."

This frank declaration is highly instructive in view of the statement so often made by the advocates of Chinese labour at the first that the importation was an experiment, and we are glad to read the strong comments of the Colonial Secretary upon it in his telegram of January 5th, part of which is quoted above. Lord Elgin continues:—

"With reference to your telegram of December 30, His Majesty's Government must likewise repudiate all responsibility for any arrangements of the Labour Importation Agency and of the mines founded upon the assumption that a large and increasing importation of Chinese labourers could be treated as permanently available, and would point out that my predecessor had intimated that the decision of the question whether the Transvaal approved of the Ordinance for the introduction of Chinese labour remaining in force would be one for the Elective Assembly about to be constituted.

"Any arrangements which the Labour Importation Agency think proper to make in advance must, therefore, be regarded as made entirely on their responsibility and at their risk.

"The position which His Majesty's Government have taken up is that they are not responsible for any act prior to their coming into office leading to the recruitment, embarkation, and importation of Chinese labourers, but that from the date on which they assumed office nothing shall be done to add to the number of Chinese labourers under contract for employment in South Africa, until the Transvaal shall have had the opportunity of declaring its opinion through an elected and really representative Legislature."

The attitude of the Boer leaders towards Chinese labour is still one of strong opposition. General Botha, writing to the Press at the end of January, said that the position of the people in many districts was as painful as ever, and that life in those parts was unbearable. The report of the interview of the Boer deputation which waited on Sir A. Lawley last September, given in full in Cd. 2786, shows their strong desire that the question should be settled once for all by the prompt repatriation of all the coolies in South Africa.

Obituary.

WE regret to record the death on January 16th of Mr. JAMES CLARK, of Street, Somerset, who was a member of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society until 1901. At the time of his retirement, the Committee passed a resolution expressing their grateful appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. Clark to the Society during the twenty-five years of his association with it. Mr. Clark had reached the age of 94 years.

Slave Dealing in Morocco.

THE case of slave selling in Tangier, which was reported in our last number, has unfortunately been confirmed by the official enquiries which have been made. The Anti-Slavery Society has been in communication with the Foreign Office on the general subject of Morocco slave-dealing, and although there seems not much hope of this question coming before the international Conference which is now sitting at Algenciras on Morocco affairs, on account of the many and delicate matters which are occupying the attention of the representatives of the different Powers, we may well hope that our Foreign Office, which has often before shown its desire to see slavery put down in Morocco, will not put the question aside if there is the slightest chance of useful action.

We may remind our readers that the Anti-Slavery Society has for a great many years interested itself in the condition of Morocco, and frequently made representations to her late Majesty's Government on the subject. On several occasions deputations have been sent out to Morocco; the visit of the late Secretary, Mr. C. H. Allen, with Mr. J. V. Crawford at the end of 1885 to investigate the slavery question, the abuses of the protégé system and the state of the prisons, should especially be mentioned, as this was the occasion of "an anti-slavery meeting" in Tangier—the first and last ever held in Morocco—and it has generally been acknowledged that it was owing to the Society's efforts, through the powerful influence of Sir John Drummond Hay, then British Minister to Morocco, who took up the matter most warmly, that the sale of slaves in open markets was stopped in the coast towns.

In 1887 the Society sent out Mr. Donald Mackenzie as its representative, with an address to the Sultan, urging the abolition of the slave trade in Morocco, when he succeeded in obtaining an interview at Marakesh with His Majesty's Vizier, who handed the address, which was supported by Sir W. Kirby Green, the British Minister, to the Sultan. That Minister, indeed, is said to have actually obtained a verbal promise from the Sultan that slave-markets should be abolished in all the towns, but his death occurring early in 1891, the matter was dropped.

Some progress against slavery has doubtless been made through the action of the European Powers and the United States in instructing the consuls to prohibit their protégés from holding slaves, and the trade has been considerably checked owing to British and French control over countries south of the Sahara, and especially to French influence on the south-eastern frontier of Morocco. It is to be feared, however, that as a consequence of the generally disturbed state of the country, things have recently gone backward if, in Tangier itself, slave dealing can be carried on with little or no attempt at concealment.

Freed Women Slaves at Tangier.

MRS. LOWTHER, the wife of the British Minister to Morocco, sends the following report of, and appeal for, this fund for old freed slave women :—

If those who still care for the relief of the suffering, the old and the helpless, will look through the following Report, we think they will be touched by an appeal which we send in their name ! They cannot speak for themselves. These helpless ones are seventeen old slave women found ill and destitute, eight of them so feeble they could only starve to death, so old they could not work, nine of them using the remnants of their strength in a pitiful endeavour to keep body and soul together. These slaves are freed and therefore have no claim on anyone for succour in their old age—when maimed and useless they are turned out to die. Fortunately, in most cases, slaves are cared for by their masters' family, or the task of providing for them would be impossible ; but for these few rescued ones we make an urgent appeal, as they are solely supported by charity.

Six years ago, Mrs. Brooks, whose care and interest have unfortunately been removed by death, and Lady Nicolson, the wife of the former Minister to Morocco, wishing to relieve some of the misery about them, decided to help these forsaken women. Mrs. Brooks provided the eight small rooms in the long low building still used, and others gave mats, blankets, charcoal and money. A few pence a week are also doled out to those women who earn an insufficient pittance outside. Three slaves have died in this last year, so that there are but nine women receiving doles outside and eight women in the eight rooms. All the distributing is undertaken most kindly and conscientiously by Miss Winslow, to whom many thanks are due.

Before the troubled times in Morocco it was comparatively easy for those interested in this Charity to keep the funds in a flourishing condition. Tourists and travellers willingly made up the small sum which is necessary to keep these slaves alive and happy ; but now that disorder is rife and the foreign population diminished, we are forced to turn to those generous ones at home who feel the degradation of Africa and do what they can to support the work of peace in strange lands.

The blessing of the oppressed and helpless is with those who remember in their charity the old freed slave women of Tangier.

Tangier, Dec., 1905.

A. L.

FREED SLAVES' FUND.

From Dec. 20th, 1904, to Dec. 13th, 1905.

CR.			DR.		
1904.		\$ Ron.	1905.		\$ Ron.
Dec. 20. Balance brought forward	377 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	Dec. 13. Amount paid out in weekly doles, and petty expenses to date	335 5
1905.			Balance in hand	400 17
Dec. 13. Subscrip'ns received during year ended this day	359 0 $\frac{1}{4}$			
		<u>\$736 2</u>			<u>\$736 2</u>

Balance carried forward \$400 17.

Tangier, December 13th, 1905.

ALFRED IRWIN, Hon. Treas.

[We are much indebted also to Miss Hay, who supplied water for the slave women during the drought.]

Mrs. Lowther adds that the balance in hand is barely enough to keep the eight huts and the seventeen women in their present condition for the year; there is a fear that the rent of the huts (which is now only nominal) will shortly be raised, which will make it more difficult to continue this charity.



The New Administration and Parliament.

WE are very glad to see that the members of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society who again sought Parliamentary honours have been returned, and we have to congratulate two of them, Mr. Sydney Buxton and Mr. Joseph A. Pease on their inclusion in the new Government. Mr. Sydney Buxton has accepted office as Postmaster-General, with a seat in the Cabinet, while Mr. Pease has been appointed a Junior Lord of the Treasury.

The new Government contains many members who are deeply interested in the question of the just treatment of native and oppressed races (we may perhaps specially mention, besides those named above, the Under-Secretary for India, the Under-Secretary for the Home Department, and the Financial Secretary to the Treasury), and we have, therefore, every reason for hoping that the class of questions in which the Anti-Slavery Society is interested will receive very sympathetic consideration from the Administration.

The prompt decision which has been taken as to the importation of Chinese indentured labour into the Transvaal is noticed on another page.

We are glad also to note the return to the new Parliament of several other friends and supporters of the Society.

Letters of Thomas Clarkson.

Continued.

THE correspondence with M. Guizot, the well-known French Minister, which follows, gave Clarkson intense gratification, which is expressed in the letter of March 19 to John Beaumont, his most frequent correspondent in the Anti-Slavery office. The sentiments set forth in the opening sentences of Clarkson's letter to Guizot in 1841 are, it may be remarked, quite consonant with our national feeling towards our great neighbour across the Channel in this time of *entente cordiale*.

To His Excellency MONSIEUR GUIZOT.

Sir,—Permit me to offer you my sincere congratulations (and I believe I speak the sentiments of my countrymen) for having in conjunction with the distinguished Marshal Soult, saved England, as well as Europe, from the calamities of an impending war. I can assure you, Sir, that the English people are desirous of peace, and particularly of a *perpetual alliance* with the French nation; because France and England, being the only two Free Constitutional Powers in Europe, they ought to be united, and because if France and England were cordially united they might be able by their powerful united influences and example to lead the rest of the world to civilisation and freedom.

I come now to another subject, namely, the Abolition of Slavery, a cause in which I have laboured for more than half a century, and which is now (in the 81st year of my age) as near and dear to me as ever. I implore you, Sir, and I implore your estimable colleague, Marshal Soult, to use your high influence with the French cabinet, to put an immediate end to slavery in all your Colonies. And may I be permitted to suggest *without an apprenticeship*. Thus by granting complete freedom to the slave you will make the great gift truly worthy of the great French nation. I ask this as a matter of justice. Every man by nature is born free, and has a right to his own body, and whoever attempts to enslave him by force and against his own consent, is the worst of robbers, and violates a commandment of God. I ask this again in the name of humanity, for to inflict the cruelties, which are practised by the planters upon their unfortunate slaves by the whip, the chain, the iron collar and other instruments of torture, is to usurp an authority which must make every generous mind shudder, and at which Christianity revolts. I ask this again in the name of sound policy, for sound policy is never at variance with humanity and justice. Be not afraid of the consequences of emancipation. Great Britain has made the experiment, and what has been the result of it? The emancipated slaves have never refused to work where fair though low wages have been offered them. They are sober, honest, industrious, contented and grateful to their masters. Crime has decreased among them, and the jails, which used to be crowded with them, are now, for the most part, empty. The planters also have reaped great advantages from emancipation. Their labourers do twice more work for them, being now free, than when they were slaves. Hence they get their work done twice cheaper, so that their profits are larger. Their estates are rising in value. They are freed also from the fear of insurrections. I may add to this that Great Britain, the mother country, has had also *her advantages* from the change. The negroes when slaves were poor, and had little

or no money to spend, and they now spend a good deal of it in dress and finery. Thus our manufacturers have been benefited to a *considerable extent*. I am told that the annual clothing of the emancipated slaves amounts already to three times more than in the days of slavery.

In imploring you, Sir, to use your influence with the French cabinet, in conjunction with Marshal Soult, to effect the great object above mentioned, I am only asking you to complete what France herself has begun. Louis the XVIIIth joined the English nation in *suppressing the slave trade* with her ships of war. Shall your sovereign, Louis Philippe, so estimable for his amiable qualities in domestic life, be behind his predecessor in acts of *humanity and justice*?

Permit me to add that if France should accomplish this noble work under your auspices, you would not only have peace of mind on your dying bed on reflecting upon what you had done for the oppressed, but France herself would acquire more true glory, than from any splendid victory, which she may yet obtain over the nations of the earth.

I should esteem it a favour if you would make known to Marshal Soult the grateful sense I myself, and the English people in general, entertain of his services in averting the calamities of war, and my hope that he will add new glory to his fame by taking the cause of the poor oppressed slaves in your Colonies under his patronage. I have felt more freedom in addressing your Excellency because I had the pleasure of seeing you at the great Anti-Slavery Meeting in London in June last.

I hope it may please God to grant you health and a long life, that your Excellency may long be at the head of the French cabinet for the affairs of Europe.

I have the honour to be with great esteem and regard,

Your friend and servant,

Playford Hall, near Ipswich,
January 18th, 1841.

THOMAS CLARKSON.

MONSIEUR GUIZOT to THOMAS CLARKSON,

Paris, 12th March, 1841.

Sir,—I was much affected by the sentiments which you had the kindness to express for me in your letter of the 18th of January last. I communicated to my colleague Mareschal Soult all the kind and flattering things you said to me of him. He desires me to thank you in his name. I esteem it my *honour and happiness* to have laboured successfully in maintaining peace in the world. It will be an equal honour and happiness to concur in the abolition of slavery in our Colonies. I hope that we shall succeed in obtaining it. It is our intention before the end of the present session to present the outline of a law, which will lay the foundation for this great measure. If we should need for our guidance any information or any books I shall apply to you with entire confidence for them. You and I, my dear sir, are fellow-labourers in the same field, and in the service of the same Master. I beseech our Almighty Master to prolong your life, and to bless you in your family as he has already blessed you in your labours. I hope that you will always preserve the sentiments of friendship for me, which you have been so kind as to express. Accept the assurance of my deepest esteem and most devoted attachment.

(Signed) GUIZOT.

To J. BEAUMONT (Anti-Slavery Office).

PLAYFORD HALL,

March 19th, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I cannot delay communicating to the Committee the good news which I have received from France. You will remember my letter to Mr. Guizot, the Prime Minister, of which I believe you have a copy recorded on your books in the office. As you will have read it, if not have it already in your possession, I will not refer to its contents.

I send you, for the use of the Committee, a translation of his original letter. I dare not part with the original lest the post should miscarry and it should be lost. But if the Committee should really wish to have a sight of it I will send it up at all hazards to London. I can assure you, however, that the translation is as accurate as it can be made, so that they will lose nothing of the sense.

I myself think for one that it is perhaps the most brilliant letter that Guizot ever wrote, or, perhaps, that it ever fell to the lot of any man to write. It is full of the sweetest, and most benevolent, and most Christian sentiments. On the subject of peace, on which I said a few words of congratulation to him, he says all that could be wished for. Happy is it for France that she has such a statesman, and happy would it be for the world if every Cabinet in Europe possessed but one such minister. On our great question of Abolition he is again all that can be wished—he is heartily with us and will do all he can on this subject, and expects to do great things before the present session closes. But there is one striking feature in his letter which astonishes us, who are accustomed to think that great statesmen have but little morality, and which will excite our admiration. You will see that he considers himself and talents as at the disposal of God, his great Master, and he will endeavour to act under that impression. Surely we may rejoice that such a man has attained to so elevated a station for France.

Let me now say a few words to you on this subject. If my letter to Guizot is recorded, as I hoped it might in the Committee's books, you will, of course, copy this his answer in the same.

Again, I entreat you to make a copy of Guizot's letter and send it as soon as you can (and a duplicate also) to dear Joseph Sturge, to America. Oh, how it will cheer his heart to hear what France is likely to do. He may, perhaps, think it right to see General Harrison, the American President; if he does, he may show him Guizot's letter. You know not what an influence Guizot's letter may have upon the President. If all the Colonies of France in the East and West Indies should abolish slavery, America will be then the only civilised Power which will have the disgrace of retaining it. Besides, if Martinique and Guadalupe abolish it, will not Cuba follow? and if Cuba follows, what will be the situation of the United States? I could wish, however, that Joseph Sturge would not let the President have Guizot's letter, but only show it him or read it to him. He must let no other person in America have it in his possession, for if this should be the case it will get into the American papers and then I shall be ruined in the eyes of Mons. Guizot, who will never write me another so confidential a letter, whereas I may keep up a correspondence with him to the great advantage of the cause. Do, my friend, tell our friend Joseph Sturge my sentiments on this subject. No man, I know, is more cautious or prudent than he. It must not, however, get into the American papers.

If Mons. Guizot should want any information on the subject of slavery in the West Indies, he tells me he will ask me for such information and receive it with the utmost confidence. You may tell Joseph Sturge this— but I mentioned the circumstance in order that he might be looking out for such persons and books as might best serve the cause, were they to be called upon to be sent to Paris. Joseph John Gurney's book would certainly be one of the books, if any were to be sent there for Mr. Guizot's inspection; but as there are many chapters where slavery is not mentioned, and as Mr. Guizot, as Prime Minister, cannot have much time for reading, I think that all unnecessary chapters might be cut out and those only sent which related to the subject. Indeed, I think it would be still better to have these selected passages translated into French. If any persons were to go over to Paris J. J. Gurney should be one of them himself, and I think I could persuade him to undertake such a task.

As I have mentioned great caution to be observed in America relative to Guizot's letter, so I mention the same caution to be observed by you at the Committee. You may say in your *Reporter* that you have received information on which you can rely, that the abolition of slavery will be introduced into the French Chambers before the present session closes, and that the question will be so well supported there that there can be little doubt that the cause will be very much advanced, but never allow my letter to get into your *Reporter*.

I should be obliged by a line immediately acknowledging the receipt of this letter.

Yours truly,

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON.

William Lloyd Garrison Centenary.

IN connection with this occasion, the following resolution was passed by the Committee at its December meeting:—

"The Committee of The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society learning that Sunday, 10th December, will be the 100th Anniversary of the birth of William Lloyd Garrison, desires to join with his countrymen in the United States of America in commemorating that great Anti-Slavery leader."

"The Committee recalls the single-hearted devotion with which Garrison took up the great task of putting an end to the institution of slavery in the United States, and records its profound sense of the value of his life-work which he carried on in the face of constant and powerful opposition, and its belief that to his fearlessness and perseverance in his purpose the cause of human freedom owes an incalculable debt."

Garrison was of course the pioneer of the anti-slavery movement in America, and for twenty years was the active President of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The *Athenaeum* of December 9 last, in a review of a book of selections from his writings, has the following interesting remarks on his consistent resistance to all forms of oppression:—

So zealous was he in his upholding of "women's rights," on the ground that "the natural rights of one human being are tho of every other, in all cases equally sacred and inalienable. . . . neither affected by, nor dependent upon, sex or condition," that in 1840, when he came to London to attend a World's Anti-Slavery Convention, he refused to take his seat as a delegate on finding that women delegates were excluded. In his doctrine of non-resistance he went beyond the views of most Quakers, and as far as Tolstoy has since done. He avowed himself "a radical free trader, even to the extent of desiring the abolition of all custom-houses, as now constituted, throughout the world." He held with Herbert Spencer that "he is the most sagacious political economist who contends for the highest justice, the most far-reaching equality, a close adherence to national laws, and the removal of all those restrictions which foster natural pride and selfishness." His life was a noble example of pacific heroism, and for such apostleship as his, there is no less need in our day than there was in the last century.

Pemba.

THE following paragraph appears in the January number of *Our Missions* (Friends' Foreign Missionary Association):—

Mr. Theodore Burt writes that he is struck when he goes to the country behind Banani with the greatly improved style of the houses that are springing up there. They mostly belong to small landowners, some of them formerly slaves.

The houses are not only larger, cleaner and better built, but they are usually situated on rising ground, from which a good deal of the superfluous vegetation has been cut away, instead of being as formerly, miserable places hidden away among the dense vegetation of the secluded valleys, or crowded together round the Arabs' residences.

This is all in the right direction and gives clear evidence of the advance which is following emancipation.

The Committee.

THE Committee has appointed Mr. JOSEPH A. PEASE, M.P., to be a Vice-President of the Anti-Slavery Society, and he has accepted the post.

We much regret to state that Dr. R. N. CUST, who has been a member of the Committee since 1884, has felt compelled by his advanced age and enfeebled health to resign his connection with the Society, as he feels he will no longer be able to take any personal part in its work.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

... THE ...
Annual General Meeting

OF
SUBSCRIBERS AND FRIENDS

WILL BE HELD (BY THE KINDNESS

OF THE PRESIDENT) AT

2, PRINCE'S GATE, S.W.,

ON

THURSDAY, MARCH 29th, 1906, at 4 p.m.

CHAIRMAN:—

SIR T. FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., G.C.M.G. (President).

It is hoped that the following gentlemen will be among the Speakers:—

REV. J. H. HARRIS, from the Upper Congo ; MR. H. W. NEVINSON ;

SIR W. BRAMPTON GURDON, K.C.M.G. ;

MR. C. RODEN BUXTON, Etc.